

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, MASS, US, TU

SUBJECT: GOT ACTIONS JULY 17 IN RESPONSE TO ARMS EMBARGO

FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF MY MEETING WITH FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL AT NOON, THURSDAY, JULY 17. PURPOSE OF MEETING WAS FOR CAGLAYANGIL TO COMMUNICATE RESULTS OF YESTERDAY'S TURKISH CABINET AND NSC DECISIONS RE IMPLEMENTATION OF PREVIOUSLY INDICATED JULY 17 COUNTERMEASURES. AT CONCLUSION OF MEETING CAGLAYANGIL DEPARTED FOR PUBLIC PRESENTATION TO TURKISH PRESS.

CAGLAYANGIL'S BASIC POINTS WERE AS FOLLOWS: (1) A MONTH AGO TODAY GOT HAD SET JULY 17 AS DATE TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS WITH A VIEW TO ESTABLISHING A NEW STATUS FOR USG PRESENCE HERE, THIS BEING NECESSITATED BY THE CONGRESSIONALLY IMPOSED EMBARGO. (2) DESPITE EFFORTS OF PRESIDENT FORD, SECRETARY KISSINGER AND MANY OTHERS IN WASHINGTON, DEVELOPMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE EMBARGO IN THE INTERIM HAVE NOT BEEN "AS STRONG AS EXPECTED" (I.E., SCOTT-MANSFIELD BILL HAD BEEN WATERED DOWN AND EVEN IN WATERED DOWN FORM HAD NOT PASSED HOUSE.) (3) NEVERTHELESS, PRESIDENT FORD'S MESSAGE AND THE FONMIN'S LATE-TUESDAY EVENING EARLY-WEDNESDAY MORNING MEETING

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(JULY 15/16) WITH ME HAVE "MADE AN IMPRESSION ON US, HAVE AFFECTED US

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(4) AFTER A MOST DIFFICULT ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS ("COLLEGIAL BODIES WHETHER AN AMERICAN CONGRESS, A TURKISH NSC, OR A CABINET, ARE VERY DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH") THE GOT EVEN THOUGH IT RECOGNIZES THAT IT WILL RECEIVE CONSIDERABLE DOMESTIC POLITICAL ABUSE, HAS DECIDED TO ACCEPT THAT ABUSE IN THE INTERESTS OF CONTINUING TURKISH/AMERICAN COOPERATION.

(5) THE INITIATION OF NEGOTIATIONS TODAY IS UNAVOIDABLE AND GOT MUST THEREFORE HAND ME A NOTE DEMANDING INITIATION OF THESE TALKS (FOREIGN MINISTER ORALLY ASKED THAT TALKS BEGIN AT 5 P.M. THIS AFTERNOON). (6) HOWEVER, GOT HAS DECIDED TO POSTPONE DELIVERY TO USG OF NOTICE OF PROVISIONAL STATUS OF ITS INSTALLATIONS HERE "SINCE WE THINK SUCH A COMMUNICATION TODAY WOULD CREATE DIFFICULTIES FOR PRESIDENT FORD'S EFFORTS." THIS NOTICE WILL BE GIVEN ONCE CONGRESS HAS ACTED (AND HE MADE CLEAR THE NATURE AND EXTEND OF THIS SECOND STEP WOULD BE VERY MUCH AFFECTED BY NATURE OF CONGRESSIONAL OUTCOME). (7) HE HAD ASKED MFA SEC GEN ELEKDAG (WHO WAS ALSO PRESENT AT MEETING) TO GIVE ME THE NAMES OF MEMBERS OF TURKISH DELEGATION FOR THIS AFTERNOON'S MEETING. HE REQUESTED THAT I SUPPLY US LIST IN COURSE OF AFTERNOON. (MFA NOTE AND ATTACHED GOT LIST BEING SENT IN SEPARATE TELEGRAM.)

(8) GOT IS VERY MUCH CONCERNED ABOUT DOMESTIC REACTION TO THIS TEMPORIZING ACTION. THERE WILL BE MUCH CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO INAUGURATE PROVISIONAL STATUS TODAY. FONMIN INTENDS TO REPLY THAT SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WOULD NOT BE INVOLVED AT THE START OF SUCH NEGOTIATIONS THAT THE EARLY MEETINGS WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN UP WITH SUCH MATTERS AS AGENDA, RULES, PROCEDURES AND OTHER TECHNICAL ITEMS IN ANY EVENT. ONLY AFTER THAT WOULD THE TWO DELEGATIONS BE READY TO GET INTO SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS. THE PRESS, SAID CAGLAYANGIL, WILL NOT, OF COURSE, BE SATISFIED WITH THIS EXPLANATION. HOWEVER, IF THEY CONTINUE TO PRESS HIM, HE WILL END UP BY SAYING THAT IT IS THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY TO TAKE ACTIONS WHICH BEST SERVE THE INTERESTS OF TURKEY.

3. I AGREED TO OPEN THE DISCUSSIONS CALLED FOR IN THE NOTE AND THANKED THE FOREIGN MINISTER FOR HIS EFFORT TO AVOID OTHER ACTIONS WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THE EFFORT NOW BEING MADE WITH THE CONGRESS.

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4. TURNING TO ANOTHER SUBJECT, I SAID THAT AT THE PRESIDENT'S BREAKFAST WITH CONGRESSMEN IN WASHINGTON THIS MORNING HE WOULD LIKELY BE ASKED ABOUT NEWS STORIES THAT TURKEY HAD COMMITTED ITSELF AT THE ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE TO VOTE WITH THE ARAB BLOC IN AN EFFORT TO EXPEL ISRAEL FROM THE UN. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT THIS ISSUE HAD NOT COME UP WHILE HE WAS PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE AND THAT THE ISRAELI CHARGE WOULD BE CALLED IN LATER TODAY TO BE TOLD THAT THIS

REPORT WAS NOT RPT NOT TURE. AS IS THE CASE WHENEVER THE TURKS
ATTENDANCE
ISLAMIC SUMMIT, HE EXPLAINED, THE GOT IN ADVANCE NOTIFIES THE ISLAMIC

SECRETARIAT THAT IT WILL CONFORM TO RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
OF THE MEETING TO THE EXTENT THEY CONFORM TO THE TURKISH
CONSTITUTION AND OTHER BASIC PRINCIPLES OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY" AS
WELL AS TO RESOLUTIONS THAT IT HAS SUPPORTED-AND TO VOTES IT HAS
MADE AT THE UN. UNFORTUNATELY (BECAUSE GOT RELATIONS WITH
THE ARAB WORLD WHICH HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY CRITICAL AS A
RESULT OF THE EMBARGO) HE WOULD NOT FLATLY COMMIT HIMSELF TO ME
THAT THE GOT WOULD NOT RPT NOT VOTE FOR SUCH AN EXPULSION ITEM.
HE WOULD ONLY GIVE A FLAT ASSURANCES THAT THEY WERE NOT COMMITTED
IN ANY WAY TO DO SO. (IT WOULD BE A MAJOR BREAK, HOWEVER, WITH
PAST TURKISH POLICY FOR THE GOT TO SUPPORT SUCH A MOTION AT THE UN.)

5. FOLLOWING MY MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER I MET
BRIEFLY WITH MFA SECRETARY GENERAL ELEKDAG, WHO MADE TWO
COMMENTS OF INTEREST. FIRST HE ASKED THAT THE DELEGATION I BRING
WITH ME TO THE FIVE O'CLOCK MEETING BE AS HIGH POWERED AS
POSSIBLE. HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE EXPECTED IT TO BE LARGELY A
CEREMONIAL MEETING BUT HE ASKED THAT WE MAKE IT APPEAR AS
IMPORTANT AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO HELP COUNTER THE ATTACK THE
GOVERNMENT EXPECTS TO BE UNDER FOR NOT PROCEEDING TODAY TO
ALTAR THE STATUS OF OUR INSTALLATIONS HERE. HE SAID IT WAS THE
GOT'S PLAN TO HAVE ONE SESSION ONLY TODAY. AT TODAY'S MEETING
NO EFFORT WOULD BE MADE TO DETERMINE A TIME FOR THE NEXT
MEETING. THAT COULD BE WORKED OUT LATER THIS MONTH AND AFTER
THE RESULTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS WITH THE CONGRESS HAD
BECOME KNOWN. HIS SECOND POINT WAS THAT THE PROPONENTS OF
THE "SOFT" DECISION BEING COMMUNICATED TO ME TODAY HAD TAKEN
CONSIDERABLE ABUSE IN THE CABINET MEETING. HE SAID THAT THE
FOREIGN MINISTER WAS VIGOROUSLY CRITICIZED FOR HAVING RECEIVED
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ME LATE TUESDAY NIGHT TO DISCUSS THE PRESIDENT'S NOTE BEFORE
THE NSC AND CABINET MEETINGS HAD TAKEN PLACE -- AND THAT
THE ALLEGATION WAS BEING MADE THAT EVERY TIME THE AMERICANS
MAKE A DEMARCHE, DEMIREL AND CAGLAYANGIL SEEM TO MAKE A
LAST-MINUTE ADJUSTMENT IN THEIR POSITION.
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